

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4282
INFO USIA WASHDC
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USCINCEUR GER
CSCE CONFERENCE COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 9122

FROM USDEL CSCE

DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM AND EUR/SOV; CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE, OCON
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE -- WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, DECEMBER 17-22

REF: BELGRADE 8969

SUMMARY: SOVIETS RETREATED AND ACCEPTED WHAT IS
ESSENTIALLY SAME PROPOSAL THAT THEY HAD HELD UP FOR WEEK ON
REORGANIZATION OF CONFERENCE FOR DRAFTING WORK. WEST RETAINS FULL
RIGHT TO BRING UP WHATEVER SUBJECTS IT FEELS ARE NECESSARY
FOR REMAINDER OF MEETING. AFTER PROCEDURAL DEADLOCK WAS BROKEN
DECEMBER 19,, HOWEVER, CONFERENCE DID LITTLE MEANINGFUL DRAFTING,
AND RECESSED FOR HOLIDAYS DECEMBER 22. SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES ON
CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WILL HAVE TO BE ADDRESSED AFTER
CONFERENCE RESUMES JANUARY 17. END SUMMARY.

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1. PROCEDURAL DEADLOCK ON HOW TO PROCEED WITH DRAFTING OF
CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AFTER SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES
TERMINATED AT END OF PREVIOUS WEEK WAS CARRIED INTO DECEMBER
19 PLENARY. SOVIETS INSISTED THROUGHOUT ABORTIVE WEEKEND
CONTACT SESSIONS ON ASSURANCES THAT REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION
WAS OVER AND THAT MEETING WOULD DEFINITELY END BY MID-FEBRUARY.
THEY MADE ONE MORE PITCH AT START OF PLENARY, SUGGESTING THAT

CONFERENCE SHOULD AT MOST ESTABLISH TWO LIMITED NEW SUBORDINATE BODIES WHOSE DRAFTING WOULD BE STRICTLY CONTROLLED BY PLENARY. ALLIED AND NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED DELS HELD FIRM, AND AFTER SHORT BREAK IN SESSION SOVIETS BOUGHT ESSENTIALLY SAME DEAL THEY HAD BEEN OFFERED FOR A WEEK. UNDER ITS TERMS, PLENARY CREATED, AS PROPOSED BY FOUR LEADING NEUTRAL DELS (AUSTRIA, SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND, FINLAND), TWO "DRAFTING GROUPS" AND THREE "SUB-DRAFTING" GROUPS. THESE FIVE BODIES AMOUNT, IN EFFECT, TO RECONSTITUTION OF SUBORDINATE WORKING BODIES THAT WENT OUT OF EXISTENCE DECEMBER 16. THEY WERE ASSIGNED A FULL WORK PROGRAM THROUGH FEBRUARY 10.

2. WITH ADOPTION OF NEUTRAL PROPOSAL, CHAIRMAN ISSUED FORMAL STATEMENT CONFIRMING THAT ITEM FOUR (REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS) HAD BEEN COMPLETED AND THAT MEETING WAS PROCEEDING TO DRAFTING. CHAIRMAN ALSO STATED, HOWEVER, THAT EACH DELEGATION REMAINED FREE TO BRING UP WHATEVER SUBJECT IT DESIRED IN PLENARY. THIS ACTION LEFT UNTOUCHED PREPARATORY MEETING'S AMBIGUOUS COMPROMISE ON WHAT HAPPENS IF CONFERENCE HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO AGREE ON A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AND DATE AND PLACE OF NEXT SIMILAR MEETING BY MID-FEBRUARY TARGET CLOSING DATE.

3. WEEK-LONG SOVIET RECALCITRANCE LEFT FAIR AMOUNT OF BOTH PERPLEXITY AND ILL-FEELING IN ITS WAKE. NO ONE IS CERTAIN WHAT MAIN SOVIET MOTIFES WERE. IT APPEARS LIKELY THEY DESIRED CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIRMATION THAT THEY WOULD NOT BE SUBJECTED TO ANY MORE CRITICISM FOR THEIR POOR HUMAN RIGHTS IMPLEMENTATION RECORD AND THAT, COME WHAT MAY, MEETING WILL END IN FEBRUARY. THEY MAY HAVE HOPED TO SPLIT NEUTRALS AND PERHAPS EVEN SOME ALLIES FROM U.S. ON ONE OR BOTH OF THESE ISSUES. IF THESE WERE THEIR OBJECTIVES, THEY FAILED. NEUTRALS TOOK LEAD IN PUSHING FOR SOLUTION THAT WAS EVENTUALLY ADOPTED, AND ALLIES INSISTED THAT PROCEDURAL SOLUTION THAT RESTRAINED WEST'S RIGHT TO BRING UP SUBJECTS AS NECESSARY WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE. IN PROCESS, SOVIETS AGAIN DEMONSTRATED THEIR ISOLATION AT CONFERENCE.

4. ANOTHER AT LEAST PARTIAL EXPLANATION MAY BE THAT SOVIETS WISH TO DELAY SERIOUS NEGOTIATION UNTIL THERE HAS BEEN FURTHER OPPORTUNITY FOR MOSCOW AUTHORITIES TO REVIEW DRAFTS. THERE HAVE BEEN HINTS OF THIS IN SOME INFORMAL CONTACTS, FOR EXAMPLE IN CBMS. WHILE URGING THAT REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION SHOULD BE ENDED FOR SEVERAL WEEKS, SOVIET DELEGATION HAS SHOWN LITTLE INCLINATION TO ENGAGE IN SERIOUS DRAFTING. NEWLY CONSTITUTED DRAFTING GROUPS WERE ABLE TO ENGAGE IN ONLY MARGINAL WORK IN SESSIONS THIS WEEK. DELEGATIONS WHICH HAD SUGGESTED EARLIER ADJOURNMENT IN ORDER TO PERMIT DELEGATES MORE CHRISTMAS TIME

AT HOME WERE ANNOYED THAT SOVIETS INSISTED ON PRINCIPLE OF CARRYING THROUGH TO DECEMBER 22 DATE SPECIFIED BY PREPARATORY MEETING WHILE TYING UP CONFERENCE ON NON-PRODUCTIVE PROCEDURAL MATTERS. TO HAVE AGREED TO MUCH OF A MODIFICATION OF RECESS DATE SPECIFIED IN YELLOW-BOOK, HOWEVER, MAY HAVE SEEMED TO SOVIETS A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT FOR MID-FEBRUARY.

5. WHATEVER MOTIVES OF SOVIETS WERE, CONFERENCE WILL RESUME JANUARY 17 WITH ALL SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES INVOLVED IN DRAFTING CONCLUDING DOCUMENT UNRESOLVED. WHAT IT ACHIEVED THIS WEEK WAS ORGANIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK CONSISTING OF PROCEDURES SUFFICIENTLY FLEXIBLE AND DETAILED TO PERMIT MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATION. THE QUESTION REMAINS WHETHER SOVIETS WILL RETURN FROM THEIR MOSCOW DELIBERATIONS EQUIPPED WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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POLITICAL WILL TO USE THESE PROCEDURES CONSTRUCTIVELY.
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